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List of the Inhabitants of Lingthem

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NOTE: This is a list of the inhabitants of Lingthem mentioned in the text and is made to avoid the constant repetition of age, sex, social position and chief relationships in the body of the text. This list is not exhaustive, and only the chief operative relationships are named; further relationships can, if desired, be discovered by inspection of Appendix I, Table 4. Those people most often mentioned in the text have their names printed in capitals. The following social classifications, which are fully elucidated in the text, are used: Muktair, Mandal, *youmi*, *gyapön* are village officials (see Chapter Five); lama and nun are priests of the lamaist religion (see Chapter Seven); *Mun*, *padem*, *Nandjóma* are priests of the old Lepcha religion (see Chapter Eight).

The number immediately after the name is the age in years of the person in 1937. Women are designated either by the prefix 'Mrs.' when they are listed immediately under their husband, or by feminine kinship terms. The following abbreviations have been used:

Kinship term in quotes—e.g. 'grandfather'—signifies that the relationship is classificatory and operative.

d.r. signifies 'distantly related to' in those cases where a distant relationship is socially operative.

Ph. pl. followed by a number signifies that there is a photograph of the person mentioned on the plate of that number. Some people appear in several photographs, but only one is given.

Adér, 71. 'Grandfather' of Chano, Chinya, Aga (Ph. pl. 25a).
Aga, 37. Son of Hlatam, 'brother' of Chano, Chinya.
Mrs. Aga I, 37. Mother of three children.
Mrs. Aga II, 43. Sterile widow, should be wife of Zumba.
Agyung, 29. Adopted son of Serving. Married with one son.
Aplung, 29. Brother of Rigya and Gyatso. Son of Ashyok *youmi*.
Mrs. Aplung, 35. Formerly stepmother of Tobgé.
Ashyok *youmi*, 50. Father of Rigya, Gyatso, Aplung (Ph. pl. 11e).
Atyook, 16. Adopted son of Tingkep *youmi*, real son of Ongden, q.v. (Ph. pl. 30).

Balnda, 23, carpenter. Son of Ongden, brother of Chanko, Atyook, Kanchok.

CHALA MANDAL, 59. Head of village (Ph. pl. 7).
Mrs. Mandal I, 28, num. Sterile. d.r. Chélé's wife, Dadool, Kanden (Ph. pl. 19).

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Mrs. Mandal II, 36. Has one daughter, formerly wife of Katel's son (Ph. pl. 19).

CHANO, 31, lama. Widower, married to elder brother's wife; 'father' of Mikmar, Pursang; 'brother' of Aga, Chinya (Ph. pl. 31a).

Mrs. Chano, 32, possessed by Mun (Ph. pl. 19b).

Chanko, 29, lama. Eldest son Ongden, brother of Atyook, Kanchok. Married.

CHÉLÉ, 10. Grandson of Kahlyeu. Inherited uncle's wife (Ph. pl. 9a).

Chélim, 46. 'Brother' of Ongden; adopted child. Has adopted Kanchok as his son.

CHIMPET, 14. Eldest son of Tafoor, q.v. (Ph. pl. 12b) training as lama.

Chinya, 37. 'Brother' of Aga, Chano (Ph. pl. 24b).

Mrs. Chinya, 41. Sterile.

CHUDO, 29, lama. Brother of Tafoor. Has three children, eldest boy training as lama (Ph. pl. 12a); Chudo (Ph. pl. 22a).

Mrs. Chudo, 29.

Lharibu (painter), Chujen of Panung (next village), lama. Father-in-law of Tafoor (Ph. pl. 11d).

Dadool, 23. Son of Také, brother of Kanden. Carrying on an intrigue with Mrs. Tobgé (Ph. pl. 26a).

Mrs. Dadool, 23.

DATOOP, 56, lama. Son of first Dorjé Lapoon, father of Pembu, Pichi, Kolok Tyong. d.r. Tafoor, Chudo, Pargeut (Ph. pl. 29).

MRS. DATOOP, 49, nun. d.r. Kurma (Ph. pl. 28b).

First Dorjé Lapoon, 82, lama. Father of Datoop, q.v.

SECOND DORJÉ LAPOON, 69, lama. 'Father' of Tafoor, Chudo, Recently married Pumri (Ph. pl. 11c).

Dunbi, 62. 'Brother' of Muktair, Tafoor's father. Father of Prumtu, Pankek.

MRS. DUNBI (Tafoormu), 54. Formerly married to Muktair. Mother of Tafoor, Chudo, Prumtu, Pankek.

GONGYOP, 47, *Mun*. Brother of Thyak Thimbu, paternal uncle Sangkyar, Satéo (Ph. pl. 14).

Mrs. Gongyop, 41 (Ph. pl. 19b).

Gongyop's son, 18. Betrothed (Ph. pl. 24b).

Gyatso, carpenter, 20. Son of Ashyok *youmi*, brother of Aplung Nariya.

HLATAM, 67, nun. The 'poisoner,' mother of Aga.

Inup, 31. Son of Takneum *youmi*. Married.

JIROONG, 41, lama. Uncle of Tobgé. d.r. Pongring (Ph. pl. 30).

MRS. JIROONG, 28. Sister of Tempa (Ph. pl. 30).

KAHLYEU, 77. Grandfather of Chélé (Ph. pl. 15b).

Kaji, 59. Old man who sees devils.

Mrs. Kaji, 37, *Mun*. Sister of Jiroong, aunt of Tobgé.

Kanchok, 17. Adopted son of Chelim, son of Ongden (q.v.).

KANDEN, 25, defective. Son of Také, brother of Dadool (Ph. pl. 26b).

KATEL, 55, *Mun*. (Ph. pl. 16).

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Mrs. Katel I, 56. Mother of three children. d.r. Chala Mandal.
Mrs. Katel II, 18.
Kolok Tyong, 15. Son of Datoop, q.v. (Ph. pl. 29).
KONDÉ, 16. Daughter of Pargeut. d.r. Datoop, Tafoor (Ph. pl. 29).
KURMA, *gyapön, padem*, 37. d.r. Mrs. Datoop (Ph. pl. 27).
Kutt'r, 18, lama. Son of Lumba (Ph. pl. 13b).

Lumba *chithembu*, 51, lama. Father of Kutt'r (Ph. pl. 11a).
Mrs. Lumba I, 47, *Mun*. Daughter of Pumri, sister of Mrs. Tempa.
Mrs. Lumba II, 38. d.r. Mrs. Lumba I, q.v.

Mikmar, 13. Son of Chano, brother of Pursang; betrothed, studying to be a lama (Ph. pl. 24).
MUKTAIR. Dead father of Tafoor, Chudo; first husband of Mrs. Dunbi.

Nahyeun, 41. Bastard son of Dunbi.
Nandjému, 66. Elder grandmother of Patek.
NARIYA, 30. Adoptive brother of Rigya, son of elder brother of Ashyok *youmi*.
Mrs. Nariya, 14.

Ongden, 52, lama. Father of Chanko, Bahada, Kanchok, Atyook; brother of Tinkep; 'brother' of Chelim (Ph. pl. 25a).
Mrs. Ongden, 22. Widow, very recently married to Ongden.

Pankek, 6. Daughter of Dunbi and Mrs. Dunbi (Ph. pl. 21a).
Pargeut, 44. Father of Kondé, Tangvoong, old mother a nun, d.r. Datoop, Tafoor.
Mrs. Pargeut, 38.
PATEK, 17. Head of household of six, including two grandmothers, a *Nandjému* and a *Mun*; brother of Ribu (Ph. pl. 9b).
PEMBU, 29, lama. Son of Datoop, q.v. (Ph. pl. 29), father of Dugoo.
Mrs. Pembu, 23. (Ph. pl. 29).
Pichi, 23. Son of Datoop, brother of Pembu, carpenter (Ph. pl. 28a).
Pongring, 83, lama. Monastery custodian. d.r. Jiroong (Ph. pl. 9b).
PRUMTU, 15. Daughter of Dunbi and Mrs. Dunbi, lives with half-brothers Tafoor and Chudo.
PUMRI, 74, *Mun*. Mother of Mrs. Lumba I, Mrs. Tempa. Recently married second Dorjé Lapoon, being widow of his "uncle" (Ph. pl. 15b).
Pursang, 11. 'Son' of Chano, brother of Mikmar.

Ribu, 12. Brother of Patek, q.v.
RIGYA, 23. 'Brother' of Nariya, whose parents adopted him. Son of Ashyok *youmi*, brother of Aplung, Gyatso (Ph. pl. 26a).
Mrs. Rigya, 26.

Sambiyou, 60. Sister of Mrs. Takal and Mrs. Gongyop, a promiscuous woman at present living with Zumba.
SANGKYAR, 36, a cretinous defective. Brother of Satéo, nephew of Gongyop and Thyak Thimbu, with latter of whom he lives.
Satéo, 27, a cripple. Brother of Sangkyar, q.v. lives with Chala Mandal (Ph. pl. 17b).

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Seryop Katoo, 17. Bastard son of Itup, q.v., born when his father was only 13.
SERVING, 96. Oldest man of Lingthem, descendant of former village heads. Adopted Agyung, grandson of elder brother (Ph. pl. 8a).
Songpo *youni*, 67. d.r. Také, Kanden, Dadool.
Mrs. Songpo, 66, nun.

TAFOOR, 35, lama. Father of Chimpet and three daughters, brother of Chudo, 'son' of second Dorjé Lapoon, 'nephew' of Dunbi, 'brother' of Datoop (Ph. pl. 23).
MRS. TAFOOR, 31, nun. Daughter of Lharibu Chujen (Ph.pl. 22b).
Takal. 57, lama.
Mrs. Takal, 58, nun. Sister of Samblyou and Mrs. Gongyop, promiscuous.
Takneum *youni*, 60. Adopted as a boy by his father's sister, father of Itup. Mother living, 84, nun (Ph. pl. 8b).
Takshyom, 19. Nephew of Kurma.
Tangvoong, 12. Daughter of Pargeut, sister of Kondé.
TEMPA, 44. Stranger to Zongu, married Pumri's daughter (Ph. pl. 7b).
Mrs. Tempa, 44. Daughter of Pumri, sister of Mrs. Lumba I. Three daughters surviving.
Thyak Thimbu, 49, *Mun*. Brother of Gongyop, uncle of Satéo and Sangkyar. Has two wives.
Tingkep *gyapön*, 35. Brother of Ongden, q.v. Adopted Ongden's son, Atyook. His wife bore a child 1934.
TOBGÉ, 22. Son of elder brother of Jiroong with whom he lives (Ph. pl. 6a).
Mrs. Tobgé, 25. d.r. Mrs. Jiroong and Tempa.

Zumba, 48. Living with Samblyou. d.r. Gongyop, Thyak Thimbu.

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villages on the Zongu bank. Excluding the Talung monastery, which is a couple of days' journey from most of the villages, and which, save for a guardian, is empty except during certain festivals, there are no lamaist monasteries and very few lamas on this bank. The inhabitants of this portion are considered by the people of Zongu to be uncivilised and rude, keeping much more to the habits of their forefathers. For a great deal of their food they rely on hunting and forest produce; their religion is still almost entirely that of the Mun, the lamaist propaganda having reached them very slightly. Owing to the excessively precipitous nature of the ground I never went over to this side of the river; on a few occasions however I saw some of the inhabitants.

There are in Zongu itself twenty-two settlements with distinctive names, and across the river eight more; some of these named settlements only consist of two or three houses and they are administratively and emotionally divided into twelve districts. Although it is convenient to speak of villages these settlements have no sort of geographical unity; the houses are either isolated in the fields and forests, or gathered in small groups of three or four; I never saw more than four houses which were close neighbours. Except for the three villages—Lingthem, Gyatong and Tangvoong—which possess a monastery, there is no sort of focal centre to the village, and it would be possible for a casual traveller to pass through quite a large village without being aware of its existence. Lingthem, where I lived, consisted of 33 houses; it is the biggest village on the Talung side of Zongu, and the second biggest in the reserve; the biggest of all is Gyatong, which, with its neighbour Hi, contains 60 houses. From the spur of one hill in Lingthem it is possible to see eight houses at once; I should reckon that there were quite three miles and three thousand feet between the lowest house to the east and the highest house to the west in the village.

When three or four houses are grouped together they are usually given a distinctive name. This grouping does not necessarily correspond to any emotional or kinship ties among near neighbours; people living in adjoining houses may be closely related, or they may be complete strangers, and full brothers may live separated by the full distance of the village.[2] The metaphysical desiderata, described later in this chapter, for the choice of a house site and

[2] For the plan of the houses of Lingthem and their inhabitants, see Appendix I, b.

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the hazards of inheritance account sufficiently for the meaningless grouping of neighbours.

The names of the villages on either side of the river Talung are accounted for by the following oft-repeated etymological myth:

'On any clear day there is visible from Lingthem a large gendarme of black rock rising from the mountain Siniolchi, or, as it is called in Lepcha, Sanyol-koong. On that gendarme there lived once upon a time a devil called Lassoo-fo *moong* (the Lassoo bird devil). This devil was a man-eater; he used to capture people all through the neighbourhood and take them away to Tibet where he would kill and eat them. Therefore the Gods Kansi *thing* (lord), Kom-yo *thing* and Saktsum *thing* consulted together as to how they could kill this demon. They tried to find a man who was capable, but they could not do so. They then went to the caterpillar *pi-sik-bu* who gnaws trees so that they become hollow and fall down, and they told him to go and cut down the tree in that place.[3] The caterpillar agreed and hollowed the tree so that it fell down, after which the demon had no place to live and went wandering about. Then the three gods sent for Rum-nam (a mythological hero) to kill the demon, and wherever the demon went Rum-nam followed.

'The demon went down the Talung valley and came to Sakyong (so called because Tag-kyong-ka was killed there), Pantoong, Thong-to, Lavén, Tangvoong, Lungdeum (where he killed children), A-dong, Ling-them (*tem-la tem-la taa*: he ate each in turn): the village opposite is called Liklyang, the place of crying, because people cried out from there.[4] Rum-nam chased him and eventually overtook him at Lasso-tsong-nyong, in the Teesta valley to the west, and there killed him and scattered his flesh over the land. From this scattered flesh arose leeches and mosquitoes, and the small predatory bird *kar-hu-fo*. His bones turned into stone, and at the place where he was slain there is a huge stone which can be seen to this day.'

Except for questions of the size of the population and the fertility of the land and some minor details of internal administration,

[3] There is a verbal confusion here between the various meanings of the word *koong*—(1) mountain peak, and (2) tree, worked wood, and finally house-pillar. There are obviously no trees on the gendarme which is well above the snow level. However I heard this story repeated several times in identical terms.

[4] All the other village names have etymological derivations from the same legend, but it seems unnecessary to give them all.

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there is not considered to be any sort of difference in customs or character between the various villages of Zongu, with a single exception. This exception is the village of Pantoong, on the far side of the Talung valley and the nearest settlement of all to the foot of Kinchenjunga; this village was until a generation ago the home of a group of serpent-eaters. These serpent-eaters all belonged to one *ptso* or patrilineal group, the Salong *ptso*. This *ptso*, though dying out, is not yet extinct, but its living representatives no longer eat snakes. Old Lepchas of Zongu have however seen these people eat the snakes; they would stone the reptile, cut off its head, and devour the body. The origin of this habit is the following story:

'One day the ancestor of the *ptso* was going through the forest when he came on what he thought was a dead bear; but really this bear was an incarnation of Pong *rum*, the king of all animals and the patron God of hunters, who was at the moment taking a rest outside his incarnation's body. The ancestor cut up the animal and ate part of it; whereupon Pong *rum* appeared to him and said "You have eaten part of my body; henceforward you and your children must serve me and worship me and make offerings to me. Henceforward also you and your children may eat all animals, even snakes, with impunity." This is the reason why the people of Pantoong could eat and enjoy snakes, whereas the rest of us would die if we ate them.'

When I was studying the language in Kalimpong, my teacher, a missionised Lepcha, told me that the story of eating snakes was a cruel libel spread about the Lepchas by the Nepali; there was not, he insisted, an atom of truth in it, and he obviously felt that it was deeply insulting and even shameful. For the Lepchas of Zongu however the story was without unpleasant affect; it is frequently repeated as a curious and amusing anecdote, and a certain respect is felt for those people who can boast of actually having seen snakes eaten. It seems improbable that these Lepchas would feel any repulsion to eating serpents if they thought they could do so with impunity; their disgust reactions are very limited; they will eat dead domestic animals and even carrion found in the forest; and they prefer their meat to be as high as possible, provided it is not maggoty. Except during the training of the Mun priests there are no food prohibitions of any sort, except the ban on horse and dog flesh ('He who could eat the flesh of

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[351] tree tomato bushes, chilli bushes, onions, etc. inside the monastery
1794 precincts; but for the greater part of his food he is dependent on gifts from the villagers. The holder of this office was a very old man called Pong-ring, born in 1852; he was very feeble, half blind, suffered from polyps which made him almost incomprehensible even to the Lepchas, and his body was covered with the most revolting open sores. To accommodate our staff he had been turned out of his house and was taken as a boarder by the next nearest house, the owner of which, Jiroong, could trace a very distant relationship with him. In his very old age he was abnormally pious, hardly moving without his personal prayer wheel. He had never received proper religious instruction and could not read (or go through the motions of reading); his devotions were limited to those of the uninstructed and usually illiterate nuns and a number of rather unkind jokes, considering his age and feebleness, were
[888] made about his position as head of the female congregation. As an old man past his work, unable to support himself and without children, he was not respected by the other Lepchas, most of whom felt, as I did, that he would be better dead; and some of the rather heartless children used to call out to him 'Why don't you die now while the Europeans are here, so that they can see your funeral?'. He was constantly having attacks of illness, but always recovered, to my, I hope, disguised distress; he was a very unpleasant spectacle and neighbour, and I should have liked to have seen the funeral of a lama, which I was not able to do.

351 At the back of the monastery the wooded hill goes up steeply to some cultivated land and a small group of houses. To the west is a small open alp with a few fruit trees in it, and beyond that slightly rising ground, this year not cultivated, and then about half a mile or more away another group of four houses.

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● 621 The monastery is almost exactly in the middle of Lingthem. Of the 33 houses 14 are above the monastery and the rest below, 14 to the east and the rest to the west. There are five groups of four houses each, one of three, and the rest either isolated or in pairs.

342 Lepcha houses are rectangular buildings raised about four feet off the ground on stone piles which go round three sides of the building; the east side is left open, and the space underneath serves as a shelter at night for domestic animals. The building

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APPENDIX I

(a) VITAL STATISTICS OF LINGTHEM

621 162 IN Lingthem it was—very exceptionally for a primitive community—possible to get the exact age of every member of the community. This was possible because it is essential for every Lepcha to know in which year of the twelve-year cycle they were born in for future horoscopes and divinations. They know also how many cycles they have completed because, after the completion of the third or fourth cycle—that is to say after the age of thirty-six or forty-eight—it is necessary to make a prophetic consultation with the lamas at the beginning of each new cycle—i.e. at the age of forty-eight, sixty, seventy-two, etc.—and all remember how many consultations they have made. Only in the case of two old widowed women am I in any doubt as to the accuracy of the data. This census was taken in April 1937.

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION BY SEX IN TEN-YEAR GROUPS

Age	*Males*	*Females*
90–81	3	1
80–71	3	4
70–61	5	5
60–51	10	6
50–41	13	13
40–31	8	11
30–21	19	16
20–11	18	11
10– 1	10	20

TOTAL POPULATION	176
MALES	89
FEMALES	87

Median age for the population	28—year 1909
Median age for males	29—year 1908
Median age for females	28—year 1909

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TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX

Year of birth	Males	Females	Year of birth	Males	Females
1847	1	–	1892	–	1
1848	–	–	1893	2	1
1849	–	–	1894	–	1
1850	–	–	1895	–	–
1851	–	–	1896	3	3
1852	1	1	1897	–	1
1853	–	–	1898	–	–
1854	–	–	1899	–	2
1855	1	–	1900	3	2
1856	–	–	1901	1	1
1857	1	–	1902	2	1
1858	–	1	1903	–	–
1859	–	–	1904	–	–
1860	1	–	1905	–	1
1861	–	–	1906	2	3
1862	–	–	1907	1	–
1863	–	1	1908	5	1
1864	–	1	1909	–	5
1865	–	–	1910	4	–
1866	1	1	1911	–	3
1867	–	–	1912	3	4
1868	1	–	1913	–	–
1869	–	–	1914	5	2
1870	1	1	1915	1	1
1871	1	1	1916	–	–
1872	–	–	1917	1	–
1873	–	1	1918	1	1
1874	1	–	1919	4	1
1875	1	2	1920	1	1
1876	–	–	1921	2	1
1877	1	2	1922	2	2
1878	3	–	1923	2	1
1879	–	–	1924	1	–
1880	1	–	1925	1	2
1881	1	1	1926	3	2
1882	1	–	1927	1	–
1883	–	1	1928	2	2
1884	1	1	1929	–	–
1885	1	1	1930	–	6
1886	1	–	1931	–	–
1887	1	1	1932	–	–
1888	3	1	1933	2	5
1889	1	1	1934	4	2
1890	2	1	1935	1	4
1891	1	3	1936	–	1

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(*b*) PLAN OF THE VILLAGE OF LINGTHEM

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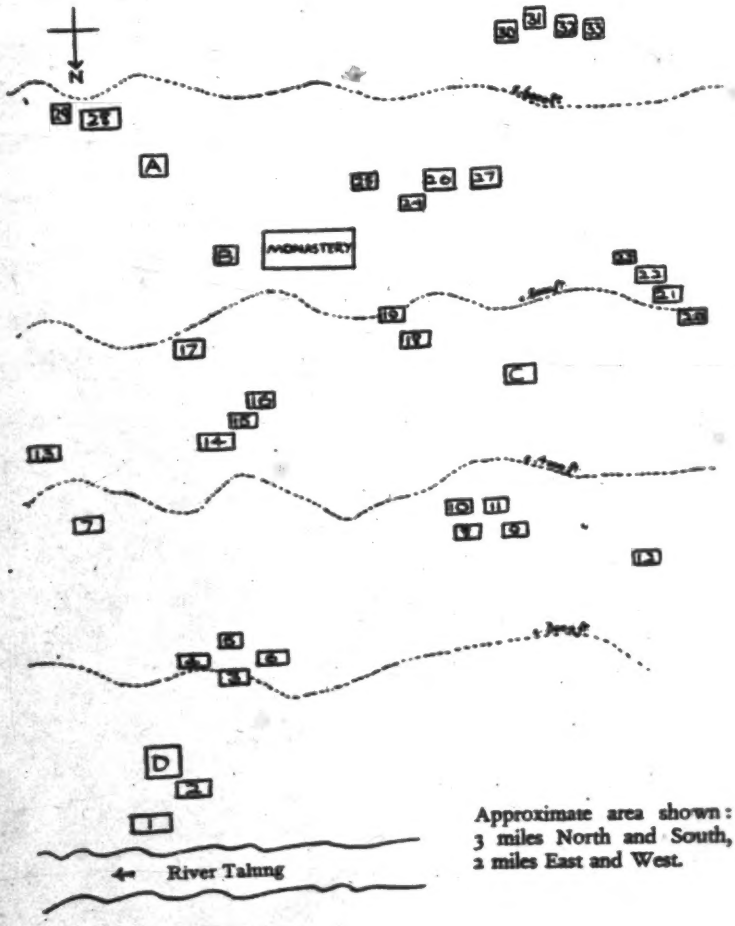
The accompanying plan shows schematically the distribution of houses in Lingthem. They are all situated on the northern slope of the mountain rising steeply from the River Talung. The numbers are for reference to the accompanying table of householders. B is the house of the monastery guardian. A, C and D are field-houses permanently inhabited by part of the household.



Approximate area shown: 3 miles North and South, 2 miles East and West.

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TABLE IV

LIST OF HOUSEHOLDERS

(arranged by PTSO (patrilineal clan) and showing composition of household)

House number on plan	*Householder*	*Members of household*			
		Adults		*Children*[1]	
		M	*F*	*M*	*F*
JAMYONG PTSO					
3	CHALA MANDAL	3	2	–	1
4	Chano	1	1	3	1
12	Asang	2	3	2	2
16	Chinya	2	1	–	–
18	Kahlyeu	1	1	1	–
23	Aga	1	3	1	2
27	Nariya	2	2	–	–
29	Ongden	3	2	2	3
30	Ashyok	3	2	–	–
31	Chelim	1	2	1	1
33	Tingkep	2	2	2	–
ZUMCHYONG PTSO					
9	Nahyeun	1	1	–	–
17	Tafoor	3	3	3	5
25	Kaji	2	2	–	–
28	Dunbi	1	1	–	1
32	Takneum	2	3	3	–
TAMSANG PTSO					
5	Thyak Thimbu	2	2	–	–
6	Gongyop	4	2	–	–
11	Zumba	2	2	–	–
PAKI PTSO (N.B. The relationship here is distant)					
1	Kurma	2	1	–	1
22	Také	3	2	–	–
SAKMI PTSO					
10	Pembu	1	1	1	–
21	Datoop	2	1	1	–
A	First Dorjé Lapoon	2	–	–	–
ARAM PTSO (N.B. The relationship here is distant)					
19	Tempa	1	2	–	2
20	Patek	2	4	1	–
B	Pongring	1	–	–	–

[1] By children are here understood unmarried men under twenty.

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House number on plan	Householder	Members of household: Adults M	Adults F	Children[1] M	Children[1] F
ARAM PANDJET PTSO (N.B. The relationship here is distant)					
7	Takal	1	1	–	–
26	Lumba	2	2	–	–
C	Lumba's elder wife	–	1	1	–
DEMIK PTSO					
13	Katel	1	2	1	1
KALONG KANDONG PTSO					
2	Songpo	1	1	–	–
D	Nakleup (son of Songpo)	1	1	–	–
LUBDONG RABJI PTSO					
8	Pargeut	1	2	1	4
TAKPO PTSO					
14	Tobgé (has left house to live with Jiroong)				
24	Jiroong	2	2	1	2
TSELTELIM PTSO					
15	Serving	2	1	1	–

[1] By children are here understood unmarried men under twenty.

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23: Benedict
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/For lists of kinship terms, and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./